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Is the social mixing agenda fuelling gentrification and social exclusion in new build developments?

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Abstract

In a city where land values are high and the market dominates, formulating housing policy is a complex issue. Underlying New Labour's housing policy has been the notion that mixed tenure developments will promote social mixing leading to the creation of sustainable communities. The aim of this study was to explore if the social mixing agenda is promoting regeneration or gentrification and social exclusion in new-build developments.

New Providence Wharf in the Isle of Dogs was used as the context for data collection. Through the use of participant observation, photography and semi-structured questionnaires the study found evidence to suggest that the site has been gentrified. It is argued that the design and layout of the site has created a manicured aesthetic aimed at high earners, not average families. The high prices commanded by the river views means that the residents are mainly on high incomes from the financial service industry. There are 'cheaper' market dwellings, but prices are still high and with only 22% affordable housing few low income earners are likely to have benefited. Although this study has not produced exact figures for displacement, evidence suggests that house price increases and lack of suitable family housing are causing low income earners to move elsewhere.

Instead of fostering social capital the presence of the different tenure and housing types has promoted little social interaction between different income groups on and off the site. The evidence points to the presence of both visible and invisible barriers to interaction which are compounded by the transient nature of the population. Notions of social difference were also observed as different social groups dissociated themselves from 'the other'. This was evident not only between income groups but also within the affordable housing tenure group.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Claire Colomb for her help and guidance, as well as those who took the time to answer my questionnaires.

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1. Introduction

With an ever expanding population, London is in constant need of new housing. High land values, large areas of deprivation and a dominant market makes formulating housing policy is a complex issue. The aim of this study is to explore the impact that the social mixing agenda is having on new-build developments and their surroundings.

Presently the ambition of national urban policy has been to promote the creation of 'sustainable communities', which in the eyes of the Department of Communities and Local Government (2008) are:

'places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all.'

Here the rhetoric of social mixing is being promoted through the use of the words 'equality' and 'inclusivity'. In this study I will explore the assumption that social mixing is the answer to sustainability issues and ask the question: Is the social mixing agenda fuelling social exclusion and gentrification? This will be done through the context of a riverside new build development known as New Providence Wharf in Tower Hamlets. To achieve this I have broken the study into two aims:

Aim one: Is this new build development a case of regeneration or gentrification and social exclusion?

- Sub aims:
1. What is the nature of the environment created?
 2. A development for the privileged?
 3. What are the implications of this development on the local population?

Aim two: Is social mixing fostering social capital and creating communities in this new build development?

- Sub aims:
3. How has design influenced personal interactions?
 4. Is this a gated community in disguise?

In a context of market dominance, a Mayor who no longer insists on 50% affordable housing, and questions as to how housing in the Lea valley will be sustainable, this topic is of

vital importance. Useful information can be gathered to inform the housing policies of the future and determine if current housing practices are supporting regeneration or gentrification. To achieve this, I will first review the literature on gentrification, social mixing, and new build developments, before presenting the case study and methodology used. I will then layout my findings and draw conclusions.

2. Gentrification, social mixing and housing policy in London: A Literature Review

This literature review will provide an introduction to social and urban change in London before going on to explore the emergence of gentrification. The processes that have fuelled gentrification will then be explored. The agenda of 'social mixing' and tenure mix pursued by the New Labour government will then be discussed, with a particular focus on its effects on new-build developments.

2.1 Exploring the London context

London is a centre of political and financial dominance on the world stage and has an ethnically and culturally diverse population (Sassen, 2001). Despite experiencing great affluence over the last decade, the city still has complex social problems. This is clearly visible through the cityscape, where areas of affluence lie adjacent to deprivation. Savage et al (2003) argue that this inequality is intrinsic to the capitalist system, as a person's standard of living is directly proportionate to their income.

There have been three significant changes during the 20th Century that have influenced London's development and promoted inequality: the fall of the British Empire; the move towards a post-Fordist economy; the move from state control towards market dominance.

The fall of the British Empire combined with the evolution of post-Fordism signalled great change in employment patterns. Areas such as the Docklands in the East End declined, resulting in spatially uneven concentrations of unemployment. Where once large factories and ship yards stood now lay dilapidated buildings and contaminated land. The shift in employment resulted in the creation of new jobs in the financial heart of the City, which due to the skills mismatch were out of the reach of the ex-Dock workers (Sassen 2001).

The third shift signalled the move from 'government to governance'. Jessop (2002) describes this as a 'hollowing out' of the nation state, implying a reduction in state control. However, although there has been a recent rise in regional policy provision, overall, decision making still rests with central government through policy guidance. In planning terms the state is no longer a provider but a facilitator of new development (Tewdwr-Jones (2005)).

Market dominance has meant that the location, nature and delivery of housing is primarily dependent on profit and can mean that community needs are ignored. Thus, development activity tends to concentrate in central locations with attractive views, good transport links and amenities. This can mean that areas in desperate need of new, affordable housing loose out.

2.2 What is gentrification?

The term 'gentrification' was first used by Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe the processes she observed occurring in Barnsbury. At the time the area was predominantly occupied by low income people residing in Georgian terraced housing, where rental values and house prices were low due to dilapidation. Glass (1964) recorded how middle income professionals moved into the area and renovating their houses, attracted by the central location and low property values. Since 1964 the meaning of the term has evolved and become ingrained in both academic literature and everyday language. This, however, does not mean that there is consensus among academics as to what does or does not constitute gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005).

Smith and Williams (1986, p108) describe gentrification as "the rehabilitation of working-class derelict housing and the consequent transformation of the area into a middleclass neighbourhood." Ward (1991) goes on to write how this entails the transformation of both the physical landscape and the socio-economic make-up of the area. New residents are attracted by the perception that other residents share similar lifestyle choices and cultural preference.

Authors have observed that displacement or what Davidson and Lees (2005) refer to as indirect displacement can then occur. As council tax increases, private rents go up and cheap shops shut down, low income earners are forced to move out of the area. The children of established low income families who want to move out of the family home can also experience problems due to lack of social and cheap market housing (Atkinson, 2004).

These processes reflect wider changes in the housing market, whereby property is no long seen simply as a home but as an investment for long term profit (Butler, 2005; Hamnett, 2001). The people Glass observed have subsequently come to be recognised as 'pioneer'

gentrifiers, whereas the gentrification taking place today is referred to as 'third wave' gentrification (Butler 2007; Davidson and Lees 2005). The nature of gentrification has evolved and as Smith (2001) described, the frontiers have moved as investors go further out looking for new opportunities.

Davidson and Less (2005) argue that large scale new build housing developments on brownfield land constitutes part of 'third wave gentrification'. As with earlier 'waves' of gentrification discussed by Butler (2007) and Atkinson (2004), environmental improvements and an influx of high income earners were observed altering the socio-demographic characteristics of the area. Although direct displacement on the sites does not occur, owing to the previous industrial uses, Davidson and Lees (2005) observed what they call 'indirect' displacement. They argue that over time these new developments increase land values both on site and in the surrounding area. Then rental and sale prices go up along with council tax, often followed by an invasion of upmarket services and facilities. Thus low income residents are often out. *how?*

There has been much debate as to whether gentrification is a positive or negative process. Research has recognised decreases in vacancy rates; environmental improvements; increase in fiscal revenues; new shops and services; and job creation (Atkinson, 2004; Freeman, 2006). On the other hand these positive outcomes can be viewed as glossing over the real issues associated with rent increases, community resentment and conflict, loss of social diversity, and displacement (Atkinson, 2003 and Shaw, 2005).

On the matter of displacement Butler (2007), Hamnett and Whiteless (2007) and Hamnett (2003) write that London is distinctly post-industrial and therefore middle class dominated. They conclude that the traditional associations of gentrification and working class displacement are no longer valid. However, Watts (2006) disagrees stating that class is still a pivotal issue as notions of class are strongly associated with income, which in turn determines a person's life choices (Cheshire 2003). The presence of gated communities in London illustrates that notions of class and 'the other' are still very much present (Davidson, 2008).

2.3 What factors have been fuelling gentrification in London?

Opinions are divided as to what factors have promoted gentrification. Here three processes will be discussed: Smith's 'rent gap' thesis; market dominance and the government policy agenda. In particular housing and 'social mixing' policies will be explored. Each of these factors will now be explored.

Smith (2002) states that centrally located brownfield land within cities can command low sale and rental values due to dilapidation and contamination. However, once contamination free and re-developed massive land value increases can be realised. This is what Smith called his 'rent gap' thesis and can be observed in parts of London such as the Docklands. An example is Canary Wharf which was derelict before re-development after the collapse of the shipping industry. However, once developers, with state support, had cleared and re-developed the land and introduced residential and office uses, demand grew and prices shot up.

Since then developers have realised the potential for profit in the land surrounding Canary Wharf fuelling a new-build boom. These processes are all tied into the second driver of gentrification, the market. Owing to the move from government to governance discussed earlier in this chapter the market is now majorly influential in the location of new development. Most new housing and commercial space is now financed by the private sector leading to a drive for profit often negating local needs. Thus, the design and layout of new developments is often geared towards achieving maximum sale values and not necessarily providing suitable housing for the local demographic. This can mean that the only new developments taking place in central locations are luxury flat developments without any new employment provision or amenities.

These activities are tied into the wider patterns of market demand and changes in the labour force associated with post-Fordism. The middle class has become increasingly dominant as income levels have increased and new job opportunities opened up. With more people going to university and earning high incomes in the service industry, there has been growing demand for inner city accommodation. New cultural preferences have emerged as young professionals no longer want to live in the suburbs with the older generation. Central locations near bars, clubs and shops are preferred as people want to enjoy the amenities

London has to offer and have a short commute to work (Butler, 2005; Lees et al, 2008; Cameron, 1992; Hamnett, 2002; Smith, 2002)). They also want to live near other young people with similar cultural preferences, hence the rise in centrally located luxury secure developments. However, the rise of the service industry has not resulted in affluence for all. Relative incomes have increased but the gap between rich and poor has widened resulting in what Moulaert et al (2003) recognise as social polarisation.

The third factor promoting gentrification is New Labour's current urban policy agenda, in particular social mixing policies. The idea of social mixing originated in the 19th Century garden city movement (Cheshire 2008) and gained popularity after the publication of the Urban Taskforce report (1999). The report was commissioned by John Prescott to identify the causes of urban decline in England and recommend ways of encouraging re-urbanisation (Colomb, 2007). The result was the promotion of an 'urban renaissance' agenda promoting the principles of social mixing along with sustainability, connectivity, high densities, walkability and high quality streetscapes (Gordon, 2004; Colomb 2007).

The report claimed that without greater social integration our cities would fail (UTF, 1999). Large areas of social housing segregated from the rest of the city were seen as the mistakes of the past (UTF, 1999). New integrated employment and housing sites that promote social mixing were seen as the future. However, in the context of current urban policy, social mixing is often constrained to tenure mix and housing types (Colomb 2007). The concept of mixed tenure is presented as a tool to encourage an income mix and greater social interaction between different social groups thus fostering sustainable communities (Rowlands et al 2006; ODPM, 2005). However, the issue of race and ethnicity is left out of the urban renaissance agenda (Amin et al 2000; Colomb, 2007).

Writers have suggested that a critical reading of the 'Urban renaissance' agenda is necessary in order to understand its social impacts (Lees, 2003; Atkinson, 2004; Colomb, 2007). Tied into the Urban Taskforce Report (1999) and the subsequent Urban White paper was the assumption that attracting higher income residents and consumers back into the inner city would dilute the deprivation. That high income earners offer a civilising influence, motivating deprived groups to achieve more through interactions with role models from different socioeconomic backgrounds (Jupp, 1999; Daly and Williams, 2006). The research of

Byrne (2003) agrees with this idea, but the point is disputed by Colomb (2007), Lees et al (2008), Atkinson (2003) and Butler (2005).

In the framework of the urban renaissance agenda, the assumption is that the empowerment and mobilisation of communities is key to spearhead urban change (Raco and Imrie 2003). However, the Urban White paper displays an ambiguous position about the existence of 'local communities', arguing for their existence in some places not others (Holden and Iveson, 2003). Colomb (2007) points to the conceptual and empirical difficulties with assuming the pre-existence of coherent local communities.

Presently London planning policy is underlined by the social mixing agenda. The London Plan (2004) actively promotes social mixing with the aim of creating 'mixed and balanced communities' (GLA 2004: 59). However, Cheshire (2008) argues that the promotion of the social mixing agenda is 'faith-based' as there is little evidence to suggest that making communities more mixed increases opportunities for the poor. Kling et al (2007) goes onto comment how they found no change in income levels of poor residents in mixed areas. Bloster et al (2007) agrees stating that it is income levels, employment and demographics not neighbourhood characteristics, that influence a person's position within the society.

Cheshire (2008) writes that social mixing relieves the symptoms of social mixing without providing a cure arguing for policies that challenge social inequalities directly. Concluding that we also need to move away from assumptions that homogenous neighbourhoods generate specific social costs when it is wider social problems that are to blame (Cheshire, 2008). In the words of Rowlands et al (2006 p2) tenure mix is an insufficient tool for 'delivering social mix and longer term sustainability'. Colomb (2007) writes that issues of 'scale' and 'scope' of mix are neglected or underplayed in the 'urban renaissance' discourse, although important elements of the longer term sustainability of social mixed urban communities. In the words of Colomb (2007 p17) 'In spite of a new rhetoric of social inclusion and mix, some of the practical implications of the urban renaissance agenda have the potential to increase the fragmentation and social polarisation of urban areas.'

2.4 Social Mixing Agenda: Effects on new build developments along the River Thames.

Riverside locations along the Thames have seen high levels of building activity over recent years. This trend started with huge government investment into areas such as Canary wharf and the completion of the Docklands light rail and Jubilee line. After going into decline through the loss of the shipping industry, suddenly dilapidated land along the river became accessible and desirable again.

New Labour has avidly promoted the Thames Gateway as a great regeneration opportunity that can provide new housing and jobs for all. However, defining what successful regeneration is complex. Roberts (2006) describes regeneration as a 'complex and integrated vision' that should go beyond what Crouch (1990) calls 'urban renewal' involving purely physical upgrading of the build environment, towards social, economic and cultural change.

Today most of the new housing along the Thames is being financed by the private sector. In order to promote sustainability New Labour has been promoting mixed tenure developments as a way to encourage social mixing. The London Plan (2004) is promoting tenure mix through a 50% affordable housing target, although this is seldom achieved. Due to the drive for profit often the presence of affordable housing is limited to that required by Section 106 Agreement contributions.

Research has been conducted by Lees and Davidson (2005), Davidson (2008) and Butler (2005) into the impact of the social mixing agenda on new build developments along the Thames and found little mixing occurring. Davidson (2008) contends that this is down to three factors. Firstly he found the presence of spatial and architectural design mechanisms provide barriers to interaction.

Davidson (2008) found that a number of developments had to provide riverside walkways as a condition of planning permission but instead of being places of interaction, were hardly used. He writes that respondents said they found the presence of CCTV and security guards made them feel unwelcome.

Secondly, Davidson (2008) argues that proximity does not generate social interactions. He writes that this lack of interaction is due to the presence of onsite facilities that mitigate the

need for interaction with local residents. Residents from different income groups are described as living in 'disjointed lifeworlds' (Davidson, 2008). Butler (2005) agrees but Allen et al (2005) suggests that mixed tenure housing estates can indeed promote interaction between residents.

Thirdly Davidson (2008) points to notions of social difference as playing a major role in the lack of social mixing he observed occurring. Butler (2007) came to the same conclusion defining resident's behaviour as 'socially tectonic' (p173) meaning they coexist without integrating. Both writers refer to discourses of the 'other' being present.

Although Byrne (2003) argues for the positive impacts that mixed income developments can have on deprivation, many others disagree. Lees et al (2008) contends that this policy direction is promoting segregation and inequality in new build riverside locations not sustainable communities. She argues that social mixing should be promoted in schools as opposed to in housing developments.

In order to create sustainable communities it is necessary to define and locate communities already in existence however, this is not easy especially where brownfield land is concerned. After all, the social, ethnical and economic profile of inner city residents is often so diverse that the identification of one homogenous 'local community' is impossible (Amin 2002). Robson and Butler (2001) write there can be separation between the social ideas of multiculturalism and resident's actual social networks and connections.

2.5 Conclusion

This literature review provides an introduction to existing research on gentrification and the social mixing agenda. An insight into the processes surrounding gentrification has been provided that in the main highlights the negative consultations of the process associated with social polarisation and exclusion. Further to this the current social mixing agenda has been reviewed. Authors argue that this agenda has been played out through the use of mixed tenure developments that are intended to promote interaction but often fail.

Colomb (2007) calls for further research into the impact that the social mixing agenda is having on housing developments and this is the intention of this study. The study will examine if a riverfront location is experiencing regeneration or gentrification. Then going

onto explore if the processes occurring are having a positive or negative effect. I will then investigate if the presence of mixed tenure is promoting social interaction or not.

3. Case study selection and methodology

The methodological approach adopted has been designed to meet the aims of this study and contribute to existing knowledge surrounding gentrification, new build developments and the social mixing agenda. In order to unpack the New Providence Wharf development and understand whether this is an example of regeneration or gentrification, several research methods have been used. However, before these methods are explained the case study and the reasoning behind its selection will be laid out.

3.1 Case study: the selection process

I focused my site search in the Borough of Tower Hamlets owing to the area's high deprivation (3rd most deprived authority in England) which sits alongside great wealth such as Canary Wharf (London Council, 2007). Added to this, with large numbers of new-build developments already habited and the continued construction of new housing, this area affords a great opportunity to explore how the social mixing agenda is being played out.

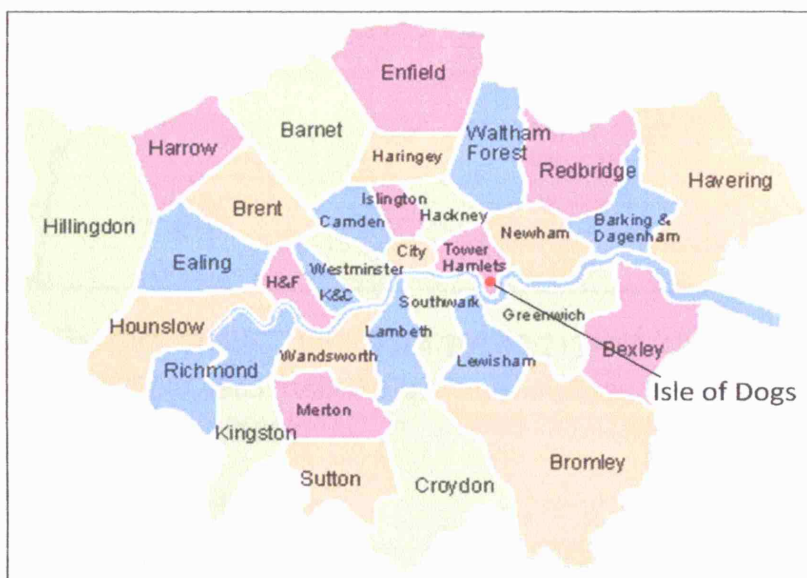
The site selection process proved complicated as the chosen site had to have obtained planning permission around 2000 in order to have been completed long enough to make measuring social interaction possible. Originally, the intension was to use a site previously used as housing before redevelopment took place in order to measure displacement but this proved difficult to find. As owing to the high profit margins achieved by river front developments there is a lack of established large residential developments away from the Thames. Thus a riverside development was chosen.

3.2 Introducing New Providence Wharf

New Providence Wharf is on the Eastern edge of the Isle of Dogs, in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets in North East London (Figure 1). Formally known as Charringtons Wharf, the site is opposite the O² Centre on the North bank of the Thames (Figure 2). For background information about the site see Appendix 1. Figure 3 then shows the site boundary and context. This particular site was chosen because it had been occupied from 2005 (in part) meaning that residents have had time to get to know their neighbours and the area if they wished. The size of the site was also important. Owing to the presence of 735 dwellings, affordable housing provision was required in order to adhere with social mixing policies (160

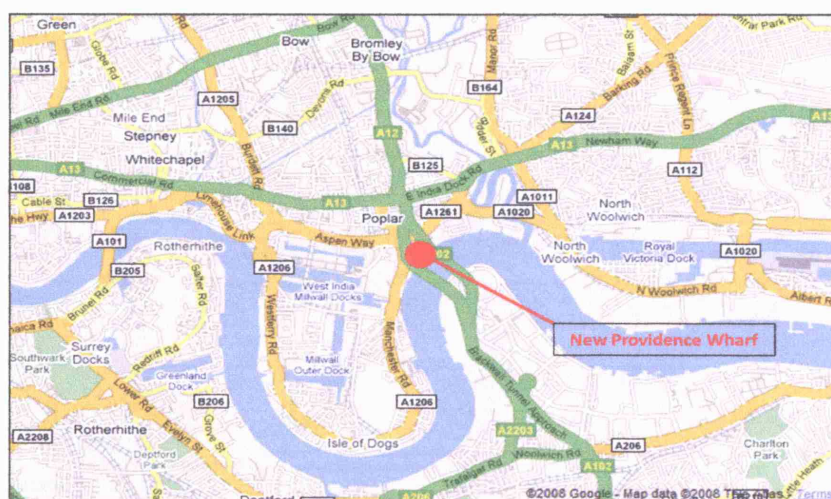
dwelling). With a mix of affordable rented, shared ownership and market housing this site was ideal for analysing the socio-economic status and behaviour of residents by tenure type (Figure 4). Finally as the site is substantial, it is easier to draw conclusions about its impact on house prices and displacement in the surrounding area than a smaller site.

Figure 1: Location of case study site with a London context



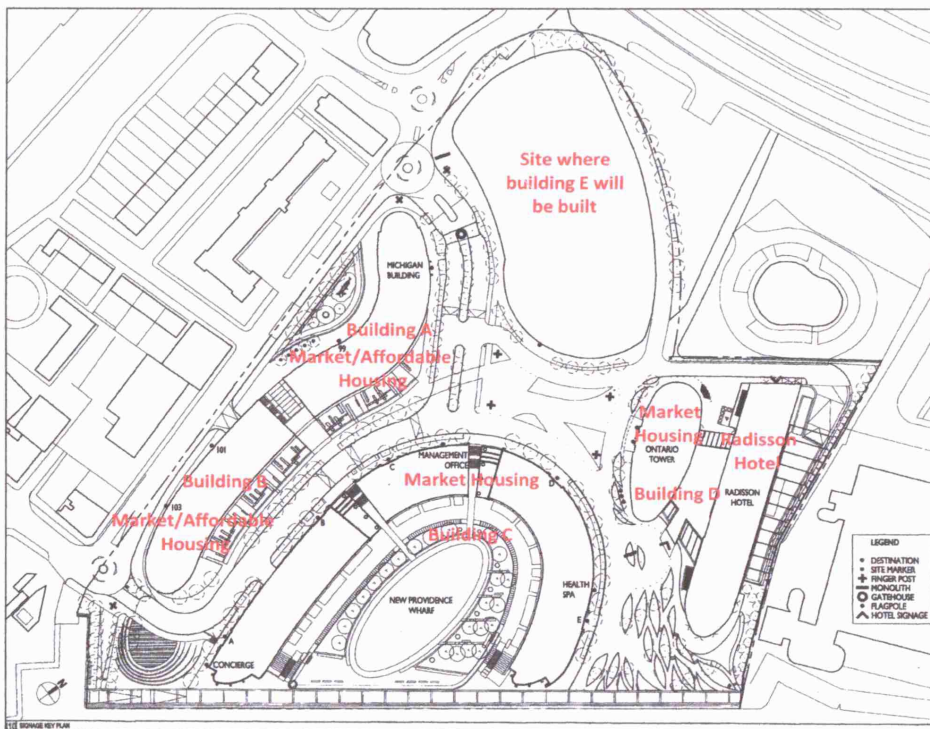
Source: <http://www.streetsblog.org/2007/09/11/parking-revenue-declining-london-borough-lures-back-drivers/2008> (Accessed July 2nd)

Figure 2: Locating the site in the Isle of Dogs



Source: <http://maps.google.co.uk/maps?hl=en&q=map%20of%20tower%20hamlets%20area&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=N&tab=w1> (Assessed 1st August 2008)

Figure 4: Detailed site plan



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3.3 A qualitative approach

In order to investigate New Providence wharf a range of research methods were used. This combination is important as, according to Lees et al (2008), different methodological approaches produce different accounts of gentrification. After a historical analysis of the site was carried out, I analysed annual house price fluctuations between April 2000 and April 2008 for the Borough of Tower Hamlets comparing them with London as a whole. I then collected Census data (2001) for the site and surrounding area. Participant observation and photography was used to observe the use of public and private spaces also offering an understanding of the socio-economic status of residents.

Gentrification is a very loaded term and opinions differ as to who it affects according to who is asked (Lees, 2003; Atkinson, 2003). I conducted face to face, semi-structured questionnaires with residents for each of the housing types on the site, with employees who worked in the onsite facilities and with residents in the surrounding area. I visited the site on a number of different occasions at different times and days of the week to maximise possibility of getting varied respondents.

When talking to respondents I tried to ensure I did not ask leading questions or convey my own opinions since this can have a detrimental effect on the responses, as McLafferty (2004) warns. After introducing my research I kept the order and nature of the questions flexible. I tried to create a conversation, not an interrogation, so that if unexpected information was given I could adapt my questions. As a result the questionnaire responses ranged from a couple of minutes to half an hour (Silverman, 1993; Flowerdew and Martin 1997; Eyles, 1998).

When conducting each questionnaire I was aware that no 'conversation' takes place in sterile circumstances meaning that the context of the interaction and personal characteristics of the respondent can affect the answers given (Miller and Glassner, 1997). Owing to the different circumstances of the respondents four separate questionnaire templates were created (Appendix 2). In total I conducted 22 questionnaires.

While conducting my research inside the development, on my second visit I was approached by a security guard and asked to explain why I was talking to residents. I was then taken to

the head of security who informed me I needed permission from the Ballymore head office before I could carry on talking to residents. On contacting Ballymore I was told it was 'against the data protection act and residence privacy' for me to talk to residents on the site. To get round this I adapted my approach and positioned myself outside the boundary of the development and continued my research.

Prior to being approach by security it was not apparent that I would need permission to conduct my questionnaire. There were no signs dissuading non residents from entering and the site seems to have multiple owners. However, it turns out after talking to the security guard that Ballymore in fact still owns most of the market flats and rents them out. This situation illustrates the blurred boundaries between public and private space on the site. These issues will be discussed in more detail in later chapters of this study.

When collating the findings I have been conscious not to make sweeping statements and generalisations about my findings. The data collected is an insight into a single development and should be understood within a place specific context. I am aware of the importance that location plays in site characteristics and do not seek to make sweeping generalisations about the rest of Tower Hamlets or London (Rose 1997).

4. Discussion of findings

This section will discuss the findings of the study following the structure of the aims. I will start by addressing if gentrification is indeed taking place, through looking at design and layout of the development, the socio-economic characteristics of residents and the impact of the development on the surrounding area. I will end by exploring if social mixing is taking place and if not, why. Copies of all the semi-structured questionnaires quoted in this chapter can be found in Appendix 3.

4.1 Aim one: Is this a case of regeneration or gentrification?

As a means of establishing if New Providence Wharf has been gentrified I will start by exploring the nature of the environment created within the development. I will then investigate the socio-economic nature of the occupants and address the impact, if any, this development has had on the local residents.

4.11 Sub-aim: What is the nature of the environment created?

New Providence Wharf has been designed to maximise the potential of the wharf in terms of both density and design (Figure 5). The site consists of five buildings of varied design ranging from 9 to 25 stories in height. Onsite facilities for the market housing are provided in the form of: a concierge service; gym; spa; dry cleaning service; restaurant and shop. Exclusivity is maintained by a vehicle check point and patrolling security guards. In the words of an employee *'You can see there is a security guard 24hours a day so no one gets in without someone noticing'* (Respondent 9).

Figure 5: View of New Providence Wharf from North West



The interaction between the buildings and the use of contemporary materials designed to promotes an image of luxury, executive living, forging dominant shapes onto the Isle of Dogs skyline (Figure 6). The market flats in building C have been positioned to maximise river views (Figure 4).

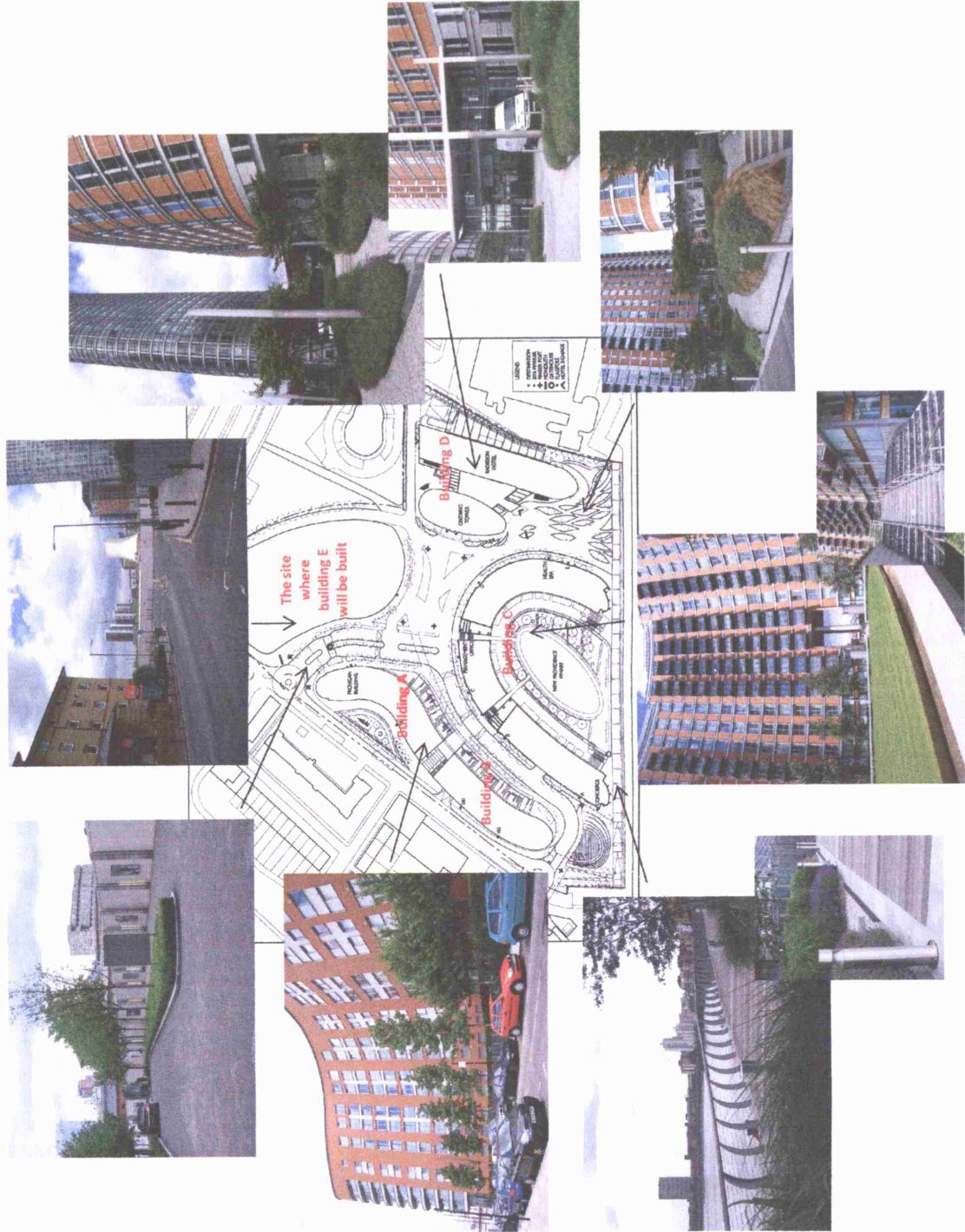
In terms of tenure mix, Buildings A and B contain a mixture of market housing (privately owned) as well as all the onsite affordable housing, now under the management of Swan Housing Association (Figure 3). Building C and Aragon Tower consists solely of market flats (Building D) (Figure 4) and attached to the side of Aragon Tower is the Radisson Hotel.

Figure 6: New Providence Wharf taken from the South Bank of the River Thames



Source: <http://www.wspgroup.co.uk/upload/images/Projects/New%20Providence%20Wharf,%20London,%20UK%2001.jpg> (Accessed 1st July 2008)

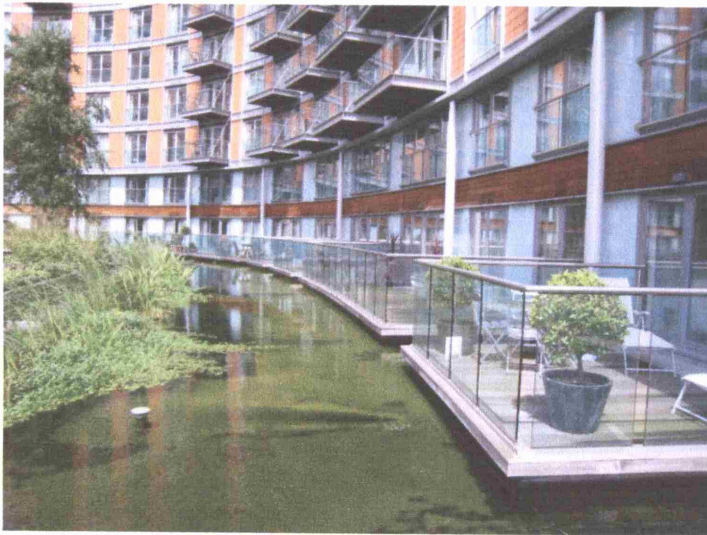
Figure 7: Picturing each building in New Providence Wharf



Source: Adapted by author from a map created by GVA Grimly, 2003

The public space between each of the buildings has been carefully landscaped to complement the architecture and create a pleasant environment for residents. At the centre of Building C are balconies ranging in size that afford lovely river views. The ground floor balconies float on an artificial semicircular pond that follows the curve of the building (Figure 8). At the centre is an expanse of manicured lawn with stone seating, trees and shrubbery surrounding it. This area is meant to be a place of relaxation, but only one resident was witnessed using it. The area appeared to be more for show than recreation as people were forbidden from walking on the grass and there was a constant 'eye' from the security.

Figure 8: Floating balconies attached to building C



To the south of building C is a river walk that spans the entire river frontage and provides great views along the Thames including the O² Centre. Surrounding Ontario Tower and the Radisson Hotel (Building D in Figure 4) are further flower beds and trees, which have been carefully landscaped to add texture and colour.

The orientation of Buildings A and B (being on the edge of the site) suggests that little attention was paid to providing useable outside space as is evident in Figure 9. Although there are trees and planted beds, most of the space has been taken up by on street parking. There is a small play area for children, but is only big enough for three or four children at one time. The design of this environment displays social inequalities through the unequal allocation of green space.

The design of this development suggests that Ballymore have intended to create an environment that promotes an image of contemporary, luxury, secure living to attract high spenders. In the words of Respondent 9: *'I mean the kind of people who live here are at the top of the pay scale, don't want to live in the deprived areas away from the river, they want the views. So developers give them what they want.'* Thus little priority has been given to the needs of the Swan residents in order to maximise the potential of the market housing.

Although the Wharf has been transformed from dereliction, no attempt has been made to preserve or allude to the site's shipping past. This rejection of the historical and social identity of the area shows a motive for maximising profit and has created a placeless development.

Figure 9: Open space outside building A



Environmental improvements are visible but, the design and layout has been constructed to appeal to a particular socio-economic group, namely high income professionals who seek exclusivity. However, without an analysis of the residents it is not possible to draw definite conclusions. Thus I will now explore the socio-economic nature of the people living in New Providence Wharf.

4.12 Sub-aim 2: A development for the privileged?

In terms of ownership Ballymore Properties still poses a large number of units in Building C, however, part of Building D has been sold to the Radisson Hotel chain. The other half of the building (also known as Ontario Tower) is privately owned by multiple residents. However, of these a number are owned by corporations as one resident stated:

'Well, you see most of these flats are corporate owned...banks, like HSBC and Barclays. We get a lot of internationals, Swedish, Dutch etc who work for the banks over there (pointing to Canary Wharf). They don't care about the cost because they don't pay the rent' (Respondent 9).

Parts of Buildings A and B were handed over to Swan Housing (in the form of social rented and shared ownership) as part of the Section 106 Agreement. The rest of the flats in these buildings have been sold to private owners as market housing.

In terms of the residents, three distinct groups were observed and questioned. The first group consisted of smartly dressed young professionals, who appeared after 5pm. The second group were more informally dressed and seemed to come from a much lower income level. The third group consisted of a small number of people living in buildings A and B who own the market housing and tended to be educated professionals but on lower wages. In addition these social differences were displayed through the parked cars. Outside buildings A and B were average family cars as opposed to the luxury sports cars being parked by valets, in the underground parking of building C.

When I asked the residents of Building C and D (Ontario Tower) to describe their neighbours their answers were very similar. The residents were seen as young professionals with high incomes. In the words of Respondent 2: *'A mixture of people, but mainly young professionals. Not many families live here.'* These sentiments were mirrored by an employee of the onsite gym who commented that: *'As far as I know, I think they work in the Docklands or the city... Lots of them are international, Portuguese, American, Swedish'* (Respondent 8).

When market housing residents were asked if they were aware of the presence of affordable housing six out of eleven respondents said they were not. Of those that did, every one mentioned issues of behaviour and appearance. As respondent 1 said:

'I noticed that some of the people are from the social housing because of their appearance and behaviour. But don't mix with them keep very separate to be honest. The children are quite rude and I don't like the way they hang about outside their building.'

Residents from building C view those in the affordable housing as a homogenous group, whereas the latter are quick to state otherwise. Social housing residents both on and off the site made reference to the variety of social groups within their tenure. In addition notions of difference were visible through tenure type. Shared ownership residents tended to view themselves as above others in rented social housing. Distinctions were highlighted as respondents made comparisons between themselves and others perceived as being 'below' them. Comments were aired about the tensions between the hard working low income earners who live alongside the unemployed and substance abusers. In the words of a respondent living in affordable housing in building A:

'They seem to dump all the trampy people from the area into these flats. You know all the bad people they want to move out of other areas. They leave there children to run around outside and don't supervise them. I don't think they care...this behaviour just ruins the place for the rest of us...It's disgusting. There are holes along the walls on the ground floor of my block where someone has punched the wall' (Respondent 6).

When referring to market housing residents in buildings C and D respondents also made reference to social difference. In the words of respondent 7, living in the market housing in building A *'I mean they are from another planet'*. It seems that distinctions are made partly on the basis of income level as it is money that determines where people can live. One resident of the affordable housing in building A commented that *'Them people have worked hard for their money and I don't have a problem with them living here. If you have the money why not get somewhere nice? But I have no money and so people like us get stuck with all the leftovers. It's not my fault I'm poor it's about education'* (Respondent 6).

These findings lead to the suggestion that residents come from polarized socio-economic groups and the predominant group consists of high earners. This is not surprising given the river views and expensive land values.

4.13 Sub-aim 3: What are the implications of this development on the local population?

The implications of this development are not only restricted to developments happening on the Isle of Dogs but reflect wider housing patterns throughout the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. I will now elaborate on this point by drawing on the interviews I conducted along with census data from 2001 (Appendix 4) and Land Registry house price data.

The 2001 Census data suggests that the redevelopment of Tower Hamlets river front started before New Providence Wharf was completed in 2005-2006. This is evident from analysing the data from the Super output area that the development is in. A Super output area is the smallest area that data is collected at (smaller than a ward). In 2001 the most prevalent housing type (in the super output area, within which the development is situated) was flats at 1,130, with only 287 houses. Added to this the population was predominantly between the ages of 18-35 with only 26 out of a possible 1,431 being retired. In terms of their occupation, out of a possible 1,333 residents 655 worked within grade A or B jobs; 410 worked in grade C2 and 105 in semiskilled and manual labour positions.

Thus, the process of 'regeneration' clearly started before the construction of New Providence Wharf. As has been seen by the socio-economic characteristics of the residents in the Wharf, it is likely that when the next census is conducted in 2011, population levels will have gone up considerably along with the number of highly paid professionals. With a considerable number of units (753), New Providence Wharf will have made a substantial contribution to this increase.

The developments built prior to 2001 are visible around New Providence Wharf in varying styles and their presence is mainly down to their proximity to Canary Wharf (Figure 10). Amongst these new developments are older affordable housing units, mostly in tower blocks and a few listed cottages (Figure 11) that serve as a reminder of the area's history. The lack of cheaper market housing and limited new affordable housing is a reflection of the market drive for profit owing to the high land values, not a lack of demand.

Figure 10: A view of Poplar Docks with Canary Wharf behind



Figure 11: St Laurence Cottages situated on the western side of New Providence Wharf



In terms of the rental values in New Providence Wharf, prices are very high. According to an employee of the onsite gym (Respondent 17), rents range from £1,400 to £4,000 per month. After investigating online I discovered that a studio flat in Ontario tower (building D) sold £294,000 in (July 2008) and a two bedroom flat in Building C, for £600,000. These are not the prices the average family or young couple can afford as the average family income in England is £32,779 (BBC, 2008). In the words of an employee of the onsite dry cleaners: *'The flats are small and designed for successful young professionals. Not that local people can afford these flats. They are upwards of £250,000, out of the price range of the likes of me'* (Respondent 9).

These high prices are not isolated. According to the Land Registry house prices in Tower Hamlets, have been increasing rapidly since 2000 with a notable incremental increase since 2006 (Figure 12). In comparison to London as a whole the borough's prices have been increasing at a faster rate (Figure 13). However, it is clear from 2001 Census data (Appendix4) that unlike the area surrounding New Providence Wharf (Super output area 82C) the residents of the rest of Tower Hamlets do not have the wealth to buy or rent these new properties. There are more residents within the Borough on lower wages than high incomes and added to this the Borough is one of the most deprived councils in England.

As this development does not offer much affordable housing and even the smallest flats, with no balconies, are still expensive, the development is out of the reach of ex-dock workers and other low income earners, still living in the area around the Wharf. Although exact displacement figures have not been calculated, the evidence suggests that in the words of Davidson and Lees (2005), indirect displacement is occurring. Respondents when asked commented about the rise in house prices and the lack of suitable housing. In the words of respondent 9 who has lived in the area all her life and works in the onsite dry cleaners: *'Local people can't afford to live here so they move out...Essex, Hanchurch and Colchester, Where they can get houses and a better quality of life for their kids... loads of people I know have moved out of the area.'*

Even people living in the 'cheaper' market housing in buildings A and B said they knew of people who moved. *'Yes, people have had to move elsewhere because they can't get housing here. It's difficult to find places.'* (Respondent 7 who lived in market housing in building A). However, those who have been given affordable housing onsite are relatively protected from displacement. Though they may not like their accommodation or feel alienated from the rest of the development for reasons such as green space allocation and amenities, at least they can stay in the area (Tower hamlets Council, 2007). Others are not as lucky as the supply of affordable housing is outstripped by demand. In the words of respondents 9:

'There is a really bad lack of council housing in the area. I have six children and they will have to buy somewhere is they want to move out. There used to be a 'Sons

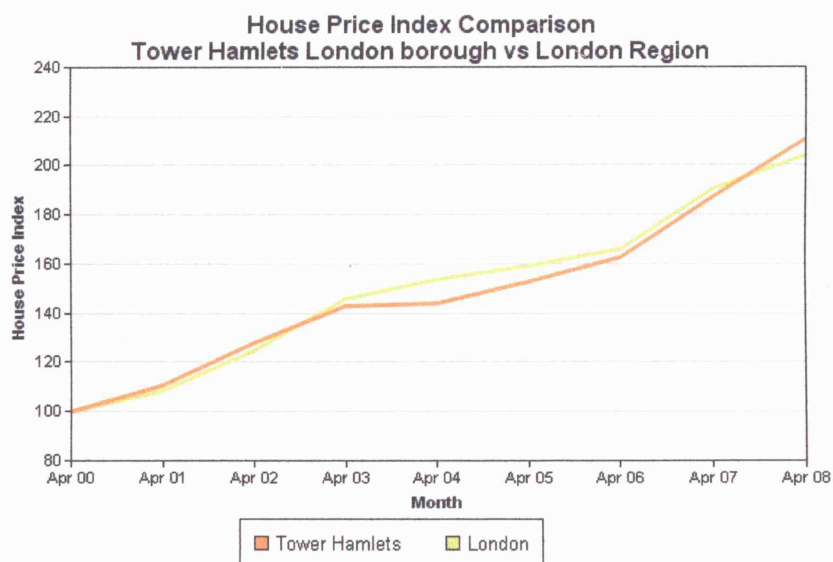
and Daughters' scheme for children of council tenants to find council housing but that was scrapped years ago.'

Finally there is the issue of house design. Not only is most of the new housing very expensive, it mostly comprises of small flats. All of the units in New Providence Wharf are small flats ranging from 1 to 3 bedrooms. Most of the units require the use of a lift. This means that for elderly people or families with children getting to and from home can be difficult. These flats were designed to appeal to a small group of people: young professionals without children. Even the landscaping is not designed for children with areas of water which pose safety issues. The presence of many steps also poses as a potential hazard for the less mobile. There is nowhere that is suitable for young children or teenagers to play safely, apart from a small playground.

This focus on attracting high income earners is not sustainable planning for the future. If people want children or get older they are likely to want to move elsewhere. As in the words of respondent 9:

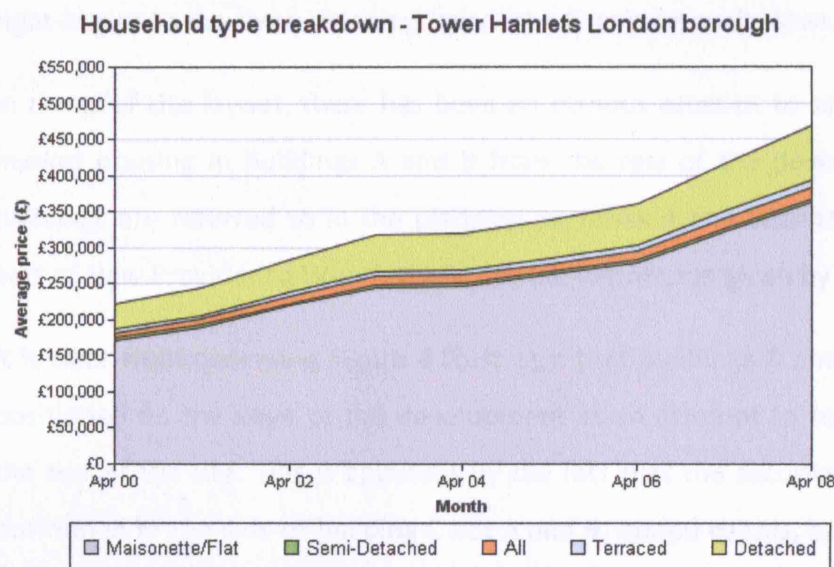
'Developers don't want to build family housing along the water front, they want high rise flats because that's where the money is. Flats with river views sell for big money. They make the flats small and cram them in. Like I said the flats sell for big money. Local people can't afford the prices.'

Figure 12: Comparing house price increases in Tower Hamlets with the London region



Source: Land Registry, 2008

Figure 13: House price increases in Tower Hamlets



Source: Land Registry, 2008

4.2 Aim two: Does social mixing foster social capital and create communities?

The social mixing agenda currently underpins planning policy and has had a great impact on new build developments. In order to understand the policies and implications on New Providence Wharf I will address the architectural and spatial design of this development before exploring ideas of social difference.

4.21 Sub-aim 1: How has design influenced personal interactions?

The architectural and spatial design of New Providence wharf has been strongly influenced by perceptions and discourses of class and difference. The nature of the layout has also played an active role in reducing social interactions. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the building design.

Although not first apparent, on closer inspection it is possible to establish where the affordable housing units are on site. In building C (purely market housing) all the flats have balconies and great effort has gone into the facade design, landscaping and water features for residents to look out upon. However, only the market housing in buildings A and B have balconies. Further to this, building C has been orientated in such a way as to afford all

residents river views, maximising sale value. However, buildings A and B are orientated at right-angles to the river, meaning few of the flats have such views.

In terms of site layout, there has been an obvious attempt to separate the affordable and market housing in Buildings A and B from the rest of the development. Although all the buildings are referred to in the planning permission and Section 106 Agreement as being part of New Providence Wharf, this is not the impression given by the plot layout.

It is clear from observing Figure 4 illustrates that buildings A and B have been deliberately positioned on the edge of the development as an attempt to separate the residents from the rest of the site. This is apparent by the fact that the security checkpoint for vehicles is positioned to the side of building C not A and B. Added to this, buildings A and B are known locally as Blackwell Way, not New Providence Wharf.

These subtle aesthetic and layout issues imply a deliberate act by Ballymore to establish visual differences between the residents living in the different buildings, as a way of re-enforcing the exclusivity of the expensive dwellings, maximising profit and dissociating high from low income earners. These notions of difference have not been lost on the residents. From talking with residents on and off the site it is evident that buildings A and B are not considered to be part of the New Providence wharf Development.

4.22 Sub-aim 2: Is this a gated community in disguise?

Although there are no physical gates surrounding New Providence Wharf, the patrolling security guards, CCTV cameras (Figure 14) and vehicle check point could be viewed as creating invisible gates between buildings A and B and building C. During my visits I did not observe security guards inspecting Buildings A or B, only the market housing in building C. These 'gates' are strongly perceived by non-residents and residents alike. This double standard appears to be directly related to the different socio-economic groups within the development.

Figure 14: One of the many CCTV Cameras on the side of building C



I was approach by security while interviewing residents and told to cease my activities until I had written consent from Ballymore headquarters. I was surprised by this as there are no signs denoting private property. Upon contacting Ballymore I was refused permission to question residents or obtain any other information about the development. From this behaviour it is only possible to conclude that Ballymore wish to maintain an image of New Providence Wharf as an exclusive development, where only 'suitable' people may enter.

This high level of security is a selling point and most of the respondents living in building C and D were attracted here for this very reason. Security is seen as important as keeping the 'other' out: *'The other day I was relaxing in the garden here when one of the security guards approached and asked if I was a resident here. I didn't mind though I like feeling secure'* (Respondent1). Other reasons for choosing the development included the river views, proximity to Canary Wharf and the DLR, but not the local area. In the words of an employee of the onsite dry cleaners:

'Yes, you can see there is a security guard 24 hours a day so no one gets in without someone noticing. There is also CCTV cameras that are managed by the concierge service office. I think women especially like the security. Quite a lot of my customers are single women who live on their

own so I think they like the feeling of security that living here brings. You know there are famous people living here' (Respondent 9).

Once they leave the sanctuary of the site most residents commented on their concerns about personal safety. *'Don't feel safe when you leave the development. My girlfriend always takes a cab home from Canary Wharf'* (Respondent 4). Another respondent commented on issues of security around the DLR station stating that residents are not happy about the lack of CCTV cameras (Respondent 9).

Although as part of the planning consent for the development, a river walk was introduced with public rights of way, respondents living outside the 'secure' area seemed reluctant to use it. During my site visits, there were always a few people walking about, but they were mainly suited and appeared to be staying at the hotel. I argue that this lack of use is down to local perceptions, fostered by the security presence, that non-residents are not welcome. In the words of an affordable housing resident in building A *'We don't feel welcome in the new development. I mean I accept the social differences but I don't like it'* (Respondent 8). Thus, an amenity designed by planning policy to promote social interaction was doing the opposite.

Division between residents is further fostered by the rule that only residents in Buildings C and D are permitted to use the onsite facilities although the on-site shop is open to all. The presence of these facilities was designed by Ballymore as a selling point, which was popular with respondents as it mitigates the need to interact locally. However, it means that there is very little mixing between the tenure groups. As Cheshire (2008) found residents live in different 'lifeworlds'. Respondent 9 said *'Well you can see a strong divide. They shop at different places and eat at different places. You only see Waitrose bags here (inside the development) but local people can't afford Waitrose.'*

When I asked how respondents felt about the level of mixing within the development both affordable and market housing residents said similar things. *'They don't integrate its very insular community, people tend to keep to themselves to be honest, not particularly friendly'* (Respondent 5). Even though some of the market housing residents know other people from work they still do not get interact. *'Know a few other people who work in Canary wharf*

through work, pass them in the street and say hi but nothing more than that.' (Respondent 5)

The transient nature of residents does not help with most respondents stating they had not been here long and did not intend to stay more than a few years. This fact is not restricted to this development and reflects wider patterns found in parts of London and in private rental market housing as a whole. This means that people are less likely to be concerned about putting down roots and interaction with their neighbours.

'Community spirit is not what it used to be round here. I used to know all my neighbours and we would look out for each other and so on. But now there's none of that. I mean my neighbours on each side are great and we get along well but it's not the same anymore. That's why I'm moving' (Respondent 10 an affordable housing resident living adjacent to the development).

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore if the social mixing agenda is fuelling social exclusion and gentrification in new build developments through the context of New Providence Wharf. I explored whether there was evidence of gentrification and social exclusion taking place and found that there was. The site has been transformed from dereliction with little reference to the Wharfs shipping past, creating a placeless development. Environmental improvements are visible in the contemporary design but the overall impression is that of a manicured aesthetic targeted at high income earners. The high prices commanded by the river views means that most residents are from the banking world, attracted by the easy commute to Canary Wharf.

There are 'cheaper' market units on site but prices are still high and with only 22% affordable housing, few low income earners in have benefited. Added to this the design and layout of the site has not been created with families in mind. Respondents commented that they knew family members and friends who have had to leave the area because they were unable to find social housing, suitable family housing or lack of finance. This leads to the conclusion that a process of 'indirect displacement' was occurring (Davidson and Lees, 2005). In an area where prices have been rising continuously since 2000 (Land Registry 2008) and are now increasing above the London average it hard for local low income earners to stay in the area.

The second aim of this study was to establish if social mixing is fostering social capital and the evidence suggests not. In the words of Butler (2007) residents are 'socially tectonic'. Little integration was found between the different income groups, as people keep to themselves. This has been put down to the presence of both visible and invisible barriers to interaction, as well as the transient nature of the population. In terms of the visible barriers to interaction, the design and layout of the site has been deliberately constructed to dissuade social mixing and reinforce social difference. The different building orientations, disproportionate allocation of landscaped gardens and vehicle check visually separate the different tenure.

The invisible barriers to social interaction are just as influential, but less obvious. The design of the 'public' space and use of security makes residents of the mixed tenure housing and

surrounding area feel unwelcome. Although the river walk was intended as a communal meeting point, it is hardly used by locals for this reason. Even though there are no signs denoting private property, only those deemed 'suitable' are allowed access to the site.

Added to this, notions of social difference were apparent. Issues of income, appearance and behaviour were used to dissociate from 'the other'. This leads to my final point that due to the polarised nature of income levels, residents tend to work, socialise and shop in different spheres according to their tenure type. This reduces the likelihood of interaction. In the words of Cheshire (2008) residents live in separate 'lifeworlds'.

Time and resource constraints have caused limitations to the scope of this study. It would have been helpful to conduct more questionnaires and longer interviews, but this requires contacts within the community that take time to evolve. Also it would be interesting to conduct further research into displacement in the development and surrounding area as well as the Borough as a whole.

As the supply of premium riverside locations slows developers are starting to seek new sites away from the river. Unlike in the case of New Providence Wharf, the design of these sites has to accommodate the existing urban fabric, impacting on the size and design features. Thus their nature presents different issues that should be addressed through further research.

Although the findings of this study should not be generalised out of context, the evidence compiled complements the findings of recent gentrification research and suggests the need for further critique of the social mixing agenda. As this study and a plethora of other research has suggested, proximity does not necessarily promote social integration (Davidson, 2008; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Butler 2007).

In the words of the DCLG (DCLG website, 2008), sustainability is supposed to be about creating '*places where people want to live now and in the future*'. However with market lead housing provision affordable housing is in the minority with profit as the main motive. Thus as in the case of New Providence Wharf housing is designed for young professionals with little provision for the very young, elderly, or lower- to middle-income groups.

The regeneration of the Thames Gateway offers new opportunities for planning innovation providing residential and employment space for the next generations. However, a sustainable society needs to ensure that gentrification and segregation do not occur and that the benefits of new developments are for everyone. The gentrification of London's river front may profit the economy in the short term, displace 'undesirable' residents and remove the visible signs of deprivation, however the underlying social problems remain. Planning is a tool for urban change and not a final solution. Central government needs to look at wider social and economic inequalities in order to meet their own definition of sustainable development. This is no easy task, planners have an opportunity use their expertise to facilitate positive change but they need to rise to the challenge.

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Appendices

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Appendix 1: Background information about New Providence Wharf

Location	New Providence Wharf is off Blackwell Way on the eastern side of the Isle of Dogs. The site is bounded to the north by the A1261 Aspen Way and is on the North bank of the Thames, opposite the Millennium Dome.
Site History	Formally part of the functioning London Docklands area, what used to be called Charringtons Wharf was vacant for a number of years before the present development was initiated.
Site Ownership	After being developed by Ballymore parts of the site were retained by the developer and rented out, parts were then sold on the open market and the affordable housing handed over to Swan Housing Association.
Policy designations	<p>Unitary Development Plan 1998: Designated as an employment use.</p> <p>Isle of Dogs Area Action Plan (November 2006): Designated as a site for new housing</p> <p>The site lies within the boundary of the Lower Lea Valley Opportunity Area Planning Framework and is identified as a 'potential new housing area'.</p>
Planning History	<p>2001 permission granted for Planning and Regeneration Ltd (2000):</p> <p>735 residential units (buildings A and B) as well as a 29,500 sq.m, 400-bedroom hotel (building D) and 42,600 sq.m. office building (building C) with retail, a restaurant, health club, car parking and landscaping with public open space. Affordable housing was provided at 25%.</p> <p>2004&2005 hotel plans amended to provide a mixed-use development maintaining the tower (building D) and podium buildings (buildings A and B), albeit with amended heights of 104m and 39m (previously 90m and 40m) incorporating a 210 room hotel, 257 flats and a flexible element of retail/restaurant use.</p> <p>Buildings A, B C and D are now completed after being phased over 6 years.</p> <p>Building E was never built and a subsequent application have been put in for:</p> <p>Erection of a part 44 storey, part 12 storey building comprising 499 residential apartments, retail uses (A1-A5) and health club (D2) together with associated landscaping, vehicle and cycle parking (social rented 13%, intermediate rented 8% and 79% market housing) tower positioned to the east end of the curve. The tower will accommodate market units and the lower 12-storey block the affordable housing. The basement will be accessed from the east and will accommodate vehicle and cycle parking as well as plant.</p> <p>Building E is still to be granted planning permission.</p>
Development Details	There are currently two buildings with a mixture of affordable housing and privately owned market housing (buildings A and B). Then building C

	<p>contains purely luxury flats and then building D consists of Ontario residential tower and Radisson Hotel.</p> <p>Total number of dwellings: 735</p> <p>Market housing: 575</p> <p>Affordable housing: 160 (84 two bedroom social rented, 9 three bedroom social rented, 31 two bedroom shared ownership)</p> <p>Completed in phases and the first residents moved in during 2005.</p>
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Appendix 2: Questionnaire template

The questions below were used as a template for the semi-structured questionnaires conducted. Each questionnaire was tailored to suit the respondent's characteristics and the context.

Questions for market housing residents living in buildings C and D in New Providence Wharf:

1. Do you live in the New Providence Wharf development?

Yes/No

2. Which building do you live in?

A/B/C/D

3. How long have you lived here?

.....

4. Why did you choose to live in this development?

.....

5. Where do you work?

.....

6. Do you use the on-site facilities?

Yes/No

If Yes which ones?.....

7. Do you use any of the facilities in the local area?

Yes/No

If Yes which ones?.....

8. Do you know any other people in the development?

Yes/No

9. What kind of people do you think live here?

.....

10. Did you know there was affordable housing in the development?

Yes/No

11. How long do you see yourself staying here?

.....

12. Do you feel safe in the area around the development?

Yes/No

If No why not?.....

Questions for residents of the affordable housing in New Providence Wharf:

1. Do you live in the New Providence Wharf development?

Yes/No

2. How long have you lived here?

.....

3. Are you from the local area originally?

Yes/No

4. What do you think of the area?

.....

5. Do you like living in the development?

Yes/No

6. What do you think about the design of the development?

.....

7. What do you think about the other flats in the development?

.....

8. Do you interact with your neighbours?

Yes/No

9. Do you walk along the river walkway?

.....

10. Do you use any of the onsite facilities?

Yes/No

If Yes which ones?.....

11. Do you use facilities in the local area?

Yes/No

If yes What?.....

12. Are there any changes you would like to see happening in the area?

.....

13. Do you see yourself staying here in the future?

Yes/No

14. Do you feel safe living in this area?

Yes/No

If No why not?.....

15. Do you know anyone who has had to move out of the area?

Yes/No

Why?.....

Questions for residents of the market housing in buildings A and B:

1. Do you live in the New Providence Wharf development?

Yes/No

2. How long have you lived here?

.....

3. Are you originally from the area?

Yes/No

4. Do you rent or own your own home?

Rent/Own

5. Where do you work?

.....

6. Do you like living here?

Yes/No

7. Do you interact with any of your neighbours?

Yes/No

8. Do you use any of the onsite facilities?

Yes/No

If Yes which ones?.....

9. Do you use the river walk?
Yes/No
10. Do you use any of the facilities in the surrounding area?
Yes/No
If Yes which ones?.....
11. How do you feel about the area in terms of safety?
.....
12. Do you know anyone who has been forced to move from the area because they could not afford the house or rental prices locally?
Yes/No

Questions for residents of the affordable and market housing outside New Providence Wharf:

1. Where do you live?
.....
2. How long have you lived there?
.....
3. Are you originally from the area?
Yes/No
4. Do you like living here?
Yes/No
5. What do you think of New Providence Wharf?
.....
6. Do you ever go onto the site to use the river walk or facilities?
Yes/No
7. Do you know anyone who lives here?
Yes/No
8. Do you interact with any of your neighbours?
Yes/No

9. Do you use any of the facilities in the surrounding area?

Yes/No

10. How do you feel about the area in terms of safety?

.....

11. Do you know anyone who has been forced to move from the area because they can not afford the house or rental prices locally?

.....

Questions	Respondent 1	Respondent 2
Do you live in the New Providence Wharf development?	Yes.	Yes.
Which building do you live in?	Building B	Building B.
How long have you lived there?	2 years.	2 years.
Why did you chose to live in this development?	The good facilities and views of the Thames. Also living here means my husband can walk to work.	Because I work near by.
Do you like living here?	Yes.	Yes.
where do you work?	I work in the city but my husband works in Canary Wharf.	Canary wharf.
Do you use the on-site facilities?	We both use the gym, swimming pool.	Use all of them apart from the restaurant.
Do you use any of the facilities in the local area?	No we don't use local facilities, but that because there isn't much here. It would be better if there were more restaurants and other useful facilities.	Use the local pub the gun, Mc Donald's.
Do you know any other people in the development?	No, people come and go. There are a lot of international people living here.	No, social circle is around work.
What kind of people do you think live here?	I think its mostly younger people.	A mixture of people but mainly young professionals. Not many families live here.
Did you know there was affordable housing in the development?	I notice that some of the people are from the social housing because of their appearance and behaviour. But don't mix with them keep very separate to be honest. The children are quite rude and I don't like the way they hand about outside the building.	No but did notice a big difference between people in the development and in the surrounding area. Don't like the behaviour of the children in the surrounding buildings.
How long do you see yourself staying here?	Although we have extended the lease, the flat prices are quite high and so are the service charges compared to other developments. So we may look for somewhere better.	Depends on my job.

Do you feel safe in the area around the development?	The development is safe because of the security but don't like walking to and from the DLR at night. - security often come up to me if I'm sitting in the garden and ask if I'm a resident.	Yea.
--	---	------

Respondent description:

Chinese pregnant women in her late 20's.

White male in his late 20's with eastern European accent playing backgammon with women.

Questions	Respondent 3	Respondent 4
Do you live in the New Providence Wharf development?	Yes.	Yes.
Which building do you live in?	Building B.	Building B.
How long have you lived there?	9 months.	6 months.
Why did you chose to live in this development?	More open, less polluted, nice development river views good facilities , we moved away from Mayfair to get away from all the people especially the tourists to somewhere where its quieter.	Nice looking, nice views, new, close to work, nice design. Like the security presence.
Do you like living here?	Yea its nice.	Yes.
Where do you work?	Canary Wharf.	Canary Wharf.
Do you use the on-site facilities?	Yea.	Hardly use the gym even though its free sometimes use the other facilities.
do you use any of the facilities in the local area?	No.	No.
Do you know any other people in the development?	Yes a few people from work we socialise locally and around work.	No-one.
What kind of people do you think live here?	People who work in Canary Wharf mainly.	A mixture of people from all over the world but mainly people who work in the banks in Canary Wharf.
Did you know there was affordable housing in the development?	Yes you can tell that people are not like us by their behaviour and appearance.	Did know about the social housing but don't see the people who live there.
How long do you see yourself staying here?	Not sure.	Not too long maybe 2 years before I move on.

Do you feel safe in the area around the development?	I don't like the area at all its not a good area. I don't like to walk about.	Safe for me but if I had a girlfriend I wouldn't want her walking around outside the development at night.
--	---	--

Respondent description:

Indian male in his late twenties.

White male in his late 20's.

Questions	Respondent 5
Do you live in the New Providence Wharf development?	Yes.
Which building do you live in?	Building B.
How long have you lived there?	7 months.
Why did you chose to live in this development?	Location, facilities, access to concierge, local transport network.
Do you like living here?	Yes, I guess.
Where do you work?	Barclays Bank in Canary Wharf.
Do you use the on-site facilities?	Yes all of them.
Do you use any of the facilities in the local area?	No, none.
Do you know any other people in the development?	Know a few other people who work in Canary Wharf through work, pass them in the street and say hi but nothing more than that.
What kind of people do you think live here?	Mainly younger couples who work long hours.
Did you know there was affordable housing in the development?	Yes but they don't integrate its a very insular community, people tend to keep to themselves to be honest, not particularity friendly.
How long do you see yourself staying here?	A couple of years.
Do you feel safe in the area around the development?	Most of the time.

Respondent description:

White male in his mid twenties.

Questions	Respondent 6
How long have you lived here?	M: 2 years
What do you think of the area?	G: Carley will have lots to say about that. M: It's a dump. I mean it's full of really trumpy people now.
Which block do you live in?	M: That one over there, the terracotta coloured one (pointing to building A).
Do you like living here?	M: No, it's not a nice place to live in, it's dirty. People are sick in the lifts. G: The other day someone poed in the lift and I don't mean dog poo neither! M: It's disgusting. There are holes along the walls on the ground floor of my block where someone has punched the wall.
But aren't these buildings new?	M: Yea they are but they are horrible already because of the people they put in um.
What do you mean exactly?	M: Well they seem to dump all the trumpy people from the area into these flats. You know all the bad people they want to move out of other areas. They leave their children to run around outside and don't supervise them. I don't think they care, you know what I mean. The other day this little boy about two years old and his older sister were just let out into the corridor to play with no supervision. The little one knocked on my door and I had to send him back to his mother. This behaviour just ruins the place for the rest of us.
What about the design of the flats?	G: They're too small. They're cramped and suffocating. M: The flats themselves are tiny. The kitchen is tiny and doesn't have a window, only electric light. So every time you burn toast it sets off the smoke alarm. There's just not enough room. Then there's the roller blinds. G: You don't get curtains anymore. You have to have these blinds that are fixed to the window so you can't take them down. This means that when they get dirty you can't clean them properly. M: We don't like them because you can't make the place your own, if you know what i mean. G: There are balconies on some of the flats but that's only the privately owned flats. The ones owned by swan don't have any outdoor space at all.

Have you told anyone about these issues?	<p>M: Yes but Swan don't listen all they care about is getting their rent. As for the parking well that's another issue. There's one road where we have the right to park, but there are only a few spaces and you have to have a permit to park there. If you try and get a permit its very difficult. There is also underground parking, but that's locked and swan residents aren't allowed to use it! Even though its empty half the time.</p> <p>G: The place is a dump dump dump.</p>
What changes would you like to see happening?	<p>M: More facilities for families. There is a play area...have you seen it? Its so small there is hardly any room for the kids to do anything and there isn't even a slide for them to play on. Now there is that new development. (pointing to the new block of flats soon to be built opposite her flat) there will be more shit people moving into the area. Its not fair on us. They just seem to dump all the leftovers onto us.</p> <p>G: People don't mix within the blocks everyone seems to keep to themselves. There is a residence association but people don't tend to go to it. Nothing ever changes.</p> <p>M: Well them people have worked hard for their money and I don't have a problem with them living here. If you have the money why not get somewhere nice? But I have no money and so people like us get stuck with all the left over's. It's not my fault I'm poor it's about education.</p> <p>M: We don't feel welcome in the new development. I mean I accept the social different but I don't like it.</p> <p>M: I want to move but it's difficult finding a new place so I'll have to make do.</p>
What do you think about the luxury flats?	
Do you ever go along the river?	
Do you see yourself staying here in the future?	
Thanks for your help.	

Respondent Description: White Grandmother (G), mother (M) and three children living in building B in an affordable housing unit. The grandmother was in her late 40's and the daughter in her early 20's and the children were all under 13.

uestions	Respondent 7
Where do you work on the development?	I work in the Gym.
Whats your particular role?	I'm a fitness instructor.
How long have you worked here?	3 years.
Where do your clients come from?	All my clients live in this development.
Where do your clients mainly work?	As far as I know I think they mainly work in the Dockland or 'the city'.
Do you know how much your clients pay to live here?	Well from the clients I've spoken to most people seem to rent. One clients told me that rents range from £1,500 to as much as £4,000 per month.
Do your clients tend to be single living with a partner or have a family?	Most are in relationships, a few have children but very few are single.
What ages are your clients?	All different ages.
What nationality are your clients?	Lots of them are international, Portuguese, American, Swedish etc
What is like working here?	Most of the clients are nice and we get a good banter going but some just don't want to talk to me. Its like they think they are better or something. It's a mixture but some are very snobby and stuck-up.

Respondent description: Chinese male in his early 20's.

Questions	Respondent 8
Do you know this area well?	Yes, I have lived in this area all my life. I've seen many changes in my time.
How do you think this area has changed?	Well loads of people I know have moved out of the area. It's the high crime rates that are pushing the working class families out. People just don't feel safe anymore. People move out when they want to start a family because they want a better start for their kids. The trouble is there is a lack of family in the area.
Why do you think that is?	Well developments like this are not designed for families. The flats are small and designed for successful young professionals. Not that local people can afford these flats. They are upwards of £250,000 out of the price range of the likes of me.
Where do you think most of the residents of these flats come from?	Well, you see most of these flats are corporate owned.
What kind of companies?	Banks, like HSBC and Barclays. We get a lot of internationals, Swedish, Dutch etc who work for the banks over there (pointing to Canary Wharf). They don't care about the cost because they don't pay the rent. Just yesterday a woman came in and collect here clothes. She said it would be the last time I saw her. When I asked why she said she had just been sacked. Said she had to be out by the end of the day!
That's very harsh.	I know, they get paid loads but at the end of the day they are still human. I think with the credit crunch she won't be the last neither. I think that about 90% of the flats are corporate owned but you should call the developers they would know.
Going back to your point about families, do you know if there are any families living here?	There didn't use to be, but now increasingly more and more young families are moving in. People here can afford expensive day care. The trouble is there is a lack of local facilities for families. But like I said local people can't afford to live here so they move out.

Where do they tend to go?	Essex mainly, Hanchurch and Colchester, where they can get houses and a better quality of life for their kids.
So why do you think there is not enough family housing in the area?	Because it's not profitable. Developers don't want to build family housing along the water front, they want high rise flats because that's where the money is. Flats with river views sell for big money. The make the flats small and cram them in. Like I said the flats sell for big money. Local people can't afford the prices. Have you seen inside one of them?
No, what are they like?	Small, barely room to swing a cat, but they eat out loads anyway. Most of them have loads of money. You know there is a restaurant just over there (pointing to the onsite restaurant). Not like the flats they used to build. Like the tower block I lived in. Spacious that was.
What were they like?	Well there was such a demand for housing, they put up high density blocks which were much bigger than these one. They had balconies too. I liked living there. Not that other people liked them much. Now even those flats are flourishing. They go for £250 per week because they are big and well located.
Why do you think people want to live here?	Well it's in a good location. Most of my customers (residents) work in the banks so it's not far to work. It's also safe and secure in here.
Is there CCTV do you know?	Yes, you can see there is a security guard 24hours a day so no one gets in without someone noticing. There is also CCTV cameras that are managed by the concierge service office. I think women especially like the security. Quite a lot of my customers are single women who live on their own so I think they like the feeling of security that living here brings. You know there are famous people living here too. Lord Kors lives here and a footballer. You know though the trouble comes when you leave the development. Residents have complained because there is no CCTV under the flyover by Blackwell station. Someone was mugged there the other day.
That's bad.	Yes.

Did you know there was affordable housing on the site?	No I didn't. That's good but there is a really bad lack of council housing in the area. I have six children and they will have to buy somewhere is they want to move out. There used to be a 'Sons and Daughters' scheme for children of council tenants to find council housing but that was scrapped years ago. I've tried to give them the best start in life so they can get good jobs and buy their own places but it's hard.
So what do you think about this development?	Well its progression isn't it. There's nothing we can do about it. It's all about big corporations making money. I just want to get the best for my kids. I know the old Dockers round here would probably disagree with me but we have to move with the times. I mean the kind of people who live here, at the top of the pay scale, don't want to live in the deprived areas away from the river, they want the views. So Developers give them what they want.
Do you think residents mix into the community much?	Well you can see a strong divide. They shop at different places and eat at different places. You only see Waitrose bags here (inside the development) but local people can't afford Waitrose.
Is there a Waitrose here?	Just down the road in the banking area. But locals go to ASDA. There must be people in the middle here though too. You know you should come back at a weekend and talk to people. During the week there an't so many people about, but at the weekend more people are about.
Thank you for your time.	

Respondents description:

White middle women in her late 40's who was working in the dry cleaning in New Providence Wharf.

Questions	Respondent 9
How long have you lived here?	I've been here in this house for 10 years and before that I was in Poland for 4 years.
Do you like living here?	Oh I don't like living here no more.
How come?	You see this piece of land here (pointing to the land opposite that has planning permission for a new tower block) they are planning to put up a massive new tower block here and I don't want to be around when its finished. It was meant to start before Christmas, but with so many objections from everyone in the area work has stopped for the moment. I'm planning on getting out of here before they start work properly.
Whys that?	Since all these new developments, like that one (pointing to New providence wharf) crime rates have shot up round here.
Why do you think that is?	It's because so many new people have moved into the area to live in these new developments. You've got all the new people plus all the council housing and it doesn't work. Mixing income levels in the same development is a bad idea see.
So you don't think that social mixing is a good idea then?	No, its bad having mixed income developments. I mean if your paying that much for a flat (referring to New providence wharf) would you really want trampy people bringing the value down?
Do you like living here?	No I want to move out of the place as soon as I can..... you can't even park round here anymore. You see these parking spaces out front we are supposed to be able to park here but they are always full. It makes it difficult if I have people over. There is never anywhere for them to park. You see the residents over there at Blackwell way (referring to building A) don't have enough parking so they park over here.
I thought they had their own parking?	Yea but not enough so they come over here. But parking is not the main problem I have with living here, its the new tower their building over there. Do you know who they're planning to house there?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire responses

No	People from Robin Hood gardens . The scummy people that no-one else wants. They are planning to re-house them here opposite which will make the area worse. There's already scummy people living in the Blackwell way social housing and now more will be moving in. The areas going to get worse and go further down hill. So I want to get out before they move in see. Yes a few people.
Do you know anyone in New providence wharf (Blackway way)?	
Do you ever go over there?	No
What do you think should be done for the area to make it better?	I think they should stop mixing income groups in new developments. It just doesn't work. Rich people should have their nice flats and then social housing should be separate. They should stop moving scummy people into this area too. That's what they do move problem people about. There needs to be more facilities here for families too. There is a tiny playing area over there but it's too small and there needs to be more for young people to do in the area. Community spirit is not what it used to be round here. I used to know all my neighbours and we would look out for each other and so on. But now theres non of that. I mean my neighbours each side are great and we get along well but its not the same anymore. Thats why I'm moving. I'm hoping to house swap with a women in Bournemouth over the next few weeks.
Well I hope that's goes well. Thanks for your time.	

Respondent Description:

White middle aged women living in an affordable housing unit on St Laurence Road adjacent to New Providence Wharf.

Appendix 4: Census data 2001

	Tower Hamlets 028C	Tower Hamlets Borough	London	England
Ages				
All persons	1,431	196,106	7,172,091	49,138,831
under 18	110	50,304	1,618,582	11,132,847
18 to 35	949	126,289	3,836,888	23,104,532
36- 65	346	52,544	2,496,711	18,680,307
66 and above	26	17,273	838,492	7,353,992
Housing Stock				
In an unshared dwelling: House or Bungalow (Persons) ¹	287	39,641	4,274,175	41,591,978
In an unshared dwelling: Flat, maisonette or apartment (Persons) ¹	1,130	151,274	2,751,782	6,417,129
In a shared dwelling (Persons) ¹	14	2,783	45,353	96,186
Social Grade				
All People Aged 16 and over in Households (Persons) ¹	1,333	149,108	5,632,491	38,393,304
AB: Higher and intermediate managerial / administrative / professional (Persons) ¹	655	31,582	1,490,608	8,520,649
C1: Supervisory, clerical, junior managerial / administrative / professional (Persons) ¹	410	38,736	1,859,712	11,410,569
C2: Skilled manual workers (Persons) ¹	62	16,986	619,499	5,780,577
D: Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (Persons) ¹	105	27,272	804,961	6,538,308
E: On state benefit, unemployed, lowest grade workers (Persons) ¹	101	34,532	857,711	6,143,201
Distance travelled to work				

All People (Persons) ¹	1,014	73,938	3,319,134	22,441,497
Works mainly at or from home (Persons) ¹	72	5,658	285,935	2,055,224
Less than 2km (Persons) ¹	180	15,705	475,102	4,484,082
2km to less than 5km (Persons) ¹	115	20,764	659,230	4,510,259
5km to less than 10km (Persons) ¹	465	19,671	803,143	4,094,614
10km to less than 20km (Persons) ¹	90	5,326	686,960	3,412,081
20km to less than 30km (Persons) ¹	18	1,082	128,560	1,197,605
30km to less than 40km (Persons) ¹	12	577	32,812	527,840
40km to less than 60km (Persons) ¹	14	681	25,001	487,683
60km and over (Persons) ¹	17	964	36,282	607,571
No fixed place of work (Persons) ¹	27	3,260	174,681	991,537
Working outside the UK (Persons) ¹	4	186	9,276	59,346
Working at offshore installation (Persons) ¹	0	64	2,152	13,655
Economic Activity				
All People (Persons) ¹	1,321	143,429	5,300,332	35,532,091
Economically active (Persons) ¹	1,075	84,737	3,580,386	23,756,707
Economically active: Employee (Persons) ¹	861	61,754	2,716,919	18,695,282
Economically active: Employee: Part-time (Persons) ¹	40	10,087	456,742	4,196,041
Economically active: Employee: Full-time (Persons) ¹	821	51,667	2,260,177	14,499,241
Economically active: Self-employed with employees (Persons) ¹	41	2,720	153,764	1,049,823
Economically active: Self-employed with employees: Part-time (Persons) ¹	0	397	21,438	151,575
Economically active: Self-employed with employees: Full-time (Persons) ¹	41	2,323	132,326	898,248

Economically active: Self-employed without employees (Persons)¹	89	5,924	321,645	1,905,165
Economically active: Self-employed without employees: Part-time (Persons)¹	18	1,417	92,427	542,458
Economically active: Self-employed without employees: Full-time (Persons)¹	71	4,507	229,218	1,362,707
Economically active: Unemployed (Persons)¹	59	9,456	231,052	1,188,855
Economically active: Full-time Students (Persons)¹	25	4,883	157,006	917,582
Economically inactive (Persons)¹	246	58,692	1,719,946	11,775,384
Economically inactive: Retired (Persons)¹	24	11,021	519,865	4,811,595
Economically inactive: Student (Persons)¹	85	12,783	348,023	1,660,564
Economically inactive: Looking after home / family (Persons)¹	47	14,753	379,846	2,316,229
Economically inactive: Permanently sick / disabled (Persons)¹	28	9,254	242,408	1,884,901
Economically inactive: Other (Persons)¹	62	10,881	229,804	1,102,095
Ethnic Origin				
All People (Persons)	1,429	196,106	7,172,091	49,138,831
White (Persons)	973	100,799	5,103,203	44,679,361
White: British (Persons)¹	706	84,151	4,287,861	42,747,136
White: Irish (Persons)¹	45	3,823	220,488	624,115
White: Other White (Persons)¹	222	12,825	594,854	1,308,110
Mixed (Persons)	25	4,873	226,111	643,373
Mixed: White and Black Caribbean (Persons)¹	7	1,568	70,928	231,424
Mixed: White and Black African (Persons)¹	3	789	34,182	76,498
Mixed: White and Asian (Persons)¹	7	1,348	59,944	184,014
Mixed: Other Mixed (Persons)¹	8	1,168	61,057	151,437
Asian or Asian British (Persons)	231	71,807	866,693	2,248,289

Asian or Asian British: Indian (Persons) ¹	49	3,001	436,993	1,028,546
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani (Persons) ¹	23	1,486	142,749	706,539
Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi (Persons) ¹	136	65,553	153,893	275,394
Asian or Asian British: Other Asian (Persons) ¹	23	1,767	133,058	237,810
Black or Black British (Persons) ¹	62	12,742	782,849	1,132,508
Black or Black British: Caribbean (Persons) ¹	16	5,225	343,567	561,246
Black or Black British: African (Persons) ¹	46	6,596	378,933	475,938
Black or Black British: Other Black (Persons) ¹	0	921	60,349	95,324
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group (Persons) ¹	138	5,885	193,235	435,300
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group: Chinese (Persons) ¹	110	3,573	80,201	220,681
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group: Other Ethnic Group (Persons) ¹	28	2,312	113,034	214,619